

**Political History Collection
Interview H.0018.03 : Tape 3**

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Gender: Male
Age: ca. 67
Date of Birth: ca. 1926

Abstract

Laja Thubden Tempa [Tib. bla phyag thub bstan bstan pa] worked in the Tibetan mint at Trapchi with Tsarong Dzasa, and later became a Khenjung and one of the heads of the Laja Office. In this interview, he discusses origin of the Panchen Lama and Tashilhunpo and the Dalai Lama's trip to India and the situation in Lhasa after his return in 1957. He participated in the March 1959 uprising in Norbulinga and describes this in detail. He also describes the joint suicide of Tseja Gyentsenla and Temajog Lobsang Nyendra.

Tape 3

Q: Yes, now [question not finished]

A: Today, may I please take leave within about one hour?

Q: Yes, yes. Now, the Dalai Lama had returned from India in 1957. In '58, was the situation getting worse?

A: In 1957, the Dalai Lama returned, and at Gyantse and Tsang, it was the time of the New Year. The New Year was spent at Gyantse, and I think it was on the 3rd that the Dalai Lama went to Shigatse. He stayed at Shigatse Dzong. On the journey to this side [to India], Tashilhunpo did not give a good reception and the Tibetan people were very disheartened. So on the journey to that side [back to Tibet], the Tibetan people requested the Dalai Lama to stay at the dzong, and that the people and the government would make the accommodation arrangements. So the Dalai Lama had to stay at the dzong. The Tashilhunpo Monastery itself was built by the first reincarnation of the Dalai Lama Gendündrub [Tib. dge 'dun grub]. So the actual owner of the monastery is the Dalai Lama. The first reincarnation lived to a ripe age. The second Dalai Lama, Gendün Gyatso [Tib. dge 'dun rgya mtsho], was recognized at the age of 11. When Gendündrub passed away, there was an abbot in charge. And although an authentic reincarnation appeared, they didn't recognize him right away and he was 11 years old when he joined the monk's order [Tib. chos zhugs] at Tashilhunpo. Finally, they had to recognize him. So he stayed there and he was very well educated and practiced meditation perfectly. However, I don't know why, [but] there happened be some kind of bad relations and he could no longer stay in the monastery. So he went to Drepung and joined Drepung Loseling. He was also referred to as Gyawa Loselingpa [Tib. rgyal ba blo gsal gling pa]. Then he went to Chönkorgye [Tib. chos 'khor rgyal], and in the Lhoka area he established the three tratsang, the Ngadagyesum [Tib. mnga' dwags rgyal gsum]. Ngari Tratsang, Dakpo Tratsang and Chönkorgye Tratsang. He had great accomplishments. Gendün Gyatso passed away and then [the 3rd Dalai Lama] Sonam Gyatso [Tib. bsod nams rgya mtsho] came. Then the [4th Dalai Lama] Yönden Gyatso [Tib. yon tan rgya mtsho] and others. So they most probably stayed at Drepung, and the 3rd and 4th Dalai Lama did not stay at Tashilhunpo. In the mean time, the Panchen Lama, Lobsang Chögyen [Tib. blo bzang chos rgyan], the 1st reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, came. He took responsibility for the recognition of the 4th and the 5th Dalai Lama. He was a tutor and all. So Labrang and the Tibetan government established great relations. This is how the Panchen began at Tashilhunpo and came into being.

Q: So in 1959 [question not finished]

A: So since this was the case, [the Dalai Lama] left from here and stayed at Tashilhunpo. On the way to this side [to India], he was not able to have a relaxing pilgrimage. So when he was going back to Tibet, he visited the monastery, gave teachings, and then went to Lhasa in 1957. Now in 1958, the Dalai Lama went to the three great monasteries for his Geshe exam. In 1956, the Tibet Autonomous Region had started and so he had to continue that work. In '59, during the Mönlam, he took his exam at the Mönlam.

That's how it happened.

Q: During this time, the Khamba revolt had begun, right?

A: Yes, the Khamba revolt had begun and around here they did this [meaning unclear], and they went to get the guns at Shang. The Chinese chased them and they had to circle around all the way down there [to the Chamdo area]. There were a lot of fights and a lot of casualties. When they first went to get the arms at Ganden Chöngor, they went via Nyemo and there was a big battle and a lot of casualties on both sides. Now we say Khamba, but there were Ütsang people too. They called themselves the Volunteer Army to Defend the Religion [Tib. bstan srung dang langsg dmag sgar]. And at Drigu, a regiment was established. This was done openly.

Q: There was a meeting to quell the Khamba's revolt, right?

A: Yes, yes, yes. While they were there at Drigutang, they [the Chinese] asked the government to quell the Khamba's revolt. So Namseling and Tregang Khenjung, and the representatives of the monasteries, some abbots, were sent.

Q: The representative of the monasteries also went?

A: Yes, yes.

Q: Now regarding this, the Chinese must have asked the Kashag, right?

A: Of course!

Q: So they asked and a meeting was called, and things were said at the meeting?

A: This the Kashag most probably decided. They may have consulted the Assembly. We were not at the meeting.

Q: The uprising took place in '59. Did people expect something like this would happen? Was the situation getting worse and worse or was the uprising all of a sudden?

A: The reason why the uprising took place was that the Chinese kept increasing their number of soldiers and they were getting more and more powerful. When the Dalai Lama went to the three great monasteries or to the Mönlam, they used to send many soldiers saying that they were the bodyguards of the Dalai Lama. For example, when he went from Drepung to Sera, the place was packed with Chinese soldiers. I don't know whether they were thinking that the Dalai Lama would go abroad, but in public they were saying that they were bodyguards.

Q: So around '56-'57, when the Dalai Lama went to and from, did the Chinese come saying that they were bodyguards?

A: No, there were none. They did this in '58.

Q: I see.

A: In '59, as I mentioned to you yesterday, when the Dalai Lama went to give teachings at Sungjöra, the rooftops were lined with machine guns. Although the soldiers were not conspicuous. And on the rooftops, bunkers were made and they were all ready. Then after the Mönlam ended on the 1st Tibetan month, day 23, 24, generally the Dalai Lama took a tour of Ramoche for a pilgrimage, and then he went through Jangseshar [Tib. lcang gseb shar] and then in front of the Potala Palace. There was a majestic column (procession) of horses. Even the number of horses was reduced some I think. The horses were reduced and from the Jokhang, he had to go to Norbulinga directly through the Yuthok Bridge. The last days of the ceremonies while the Dalai Lama was at the Jokhang, the Chinese used to go and see him often. It was around this time that they had requested him to go to the [Chinese] Military Headquarters for the show.

Q: So when the time came for the uprising, where were you?

A: I was at the gates of Norbulinga. The uprising began on the 1st, right?

Q: Since you were a tsendrön, you used to be at Norbulinga, right?

A: No, at that time I was not a tsendrön, but a Laja [a head of the Laja office].

Q: Where were you staying at that time?

A: In 1958, in the 3rd month, I was appointed as the Laja. So the Dalai Lama went to Norbulinga on the 1st. Then [answer not finished]

Q: In the morning you had to go to the drungja, right?

A: Yes, there was a lot of commotion with a lot of people going down to Norbulinga. So when we went to the Norbulinga's gaa, people from Lhasa, monks and laymen, men and women, and people from Shöl; many were coming. When we got to the gates, the place was full of people. We didn't know what it was all about and the people were saying that the Dalai Lama was being taken to the Chinese Military Headquarters on the 1st. "This is not allowed. We have to request him not to go. Besides, how could you, a Tibetan government kudrak, not even ask him not to go?" So at that time, they hated the kudrak very much. And the gates of Norbulinga were closed.

Q: So you were staying at Lhasa and you came alone?

A: Yes, yes. When I got there, the place was full of people, with some lay and monk officials. There were even some who were inside the gate. The officials who knew some of the people were allowing them to go back and forth a little. At the site of the gates, it was full of people. Then after some time, Surkhang came. Up to the Chango [Tib. chab sgo] Bridge, he may have had a car or a horse, but from the bridge he came on foot and he came so tactfully that they did not say anything to him.

Q: At that time, you were outside the gate?

A: Yes, I was. I think it was Shasur or Surkhang. I remember something like somebody came with Surkhang or something. Surkhang then sort of greeted the people by smiling towards them and went in.

Q: The people did not say anything to him?

A: No, they did not and he went in. Then after some time, Chamdo Khenjung, who was a tsidrung, came for the drungja. They said that he was there. I did not notice him. Then after the drungja, he probably went to Lhasa. When he came down [back], he wore a chupa and a gauze mask, and came riding a bicycle. On the main route to Norbulinga, on the side of the road, he was riding while kind of showing a feeling of guilt [Tib. gnong yod pa]. From this gate there is another one ahead called the eastern gate [Tib. zhung sgo shar ma]. He avoided going towards that side. The people became suspicious and they said that he must be a Chinese spy since he was wearing a gauze mask and riding a bicycle in a very alert manner. So they chased him and talked to him, and they began hitting each other. Then he took out his gun from his robe, and then they really beat him up very severely. Then the people shouted and attacked him with stones. There was a tsidrung named Jambey Dawa [Tib. 'jam dpal zla ba] who pleaded a lot with them saying don't do this. I was at the upper part of the gate. But they did not listen to him. He [Phagpalha] was killed right there. Everyone, lay and monk, men and women, all attacked him. So he was killed and his body was dragged down to Barkor Street in Lhasa. It is said that it was put in the room where they used to keep the poles [Tib. om shing] for raising up the tall prayer flag pole [Tib. dar chen]. Then after some time, Sambo came in a Chinese car [with] a Chinese bodyguard, since he had a military rank. He got out near the gate and the people stoned him. He was hit somewhere here and he fell. Two or three stones were probably hurled. I was outside with Bashi Jedrung [Tib. bar gzhis rje drung], the one who is in Canada. The two of us said, "Please don't do such things," but he was already wounded. So there was nothing to do. At Dekyilinga there is the Indian Consulate where there is an Indian "hospital". There was nothing to do but to get medical attention. The Chinese soldier had a gun but he kept silent. If he had done something then they would have ganged up [on him] and beat him. But he kept quiet. And the people also did not do anything to him. The people said, "You, the Tibetan government kudrak, are like putting inferior tsamba in a satin bag [Tib. gos chen nang tsam sog blug pa]. [This means they were dressed well but were low quality]." The people were really scolding us and we said sorry and so on. The damage was already done, but that was about it. Then the people started shouting that the Dalai Lama could not go to the Chinese military base. They were told not to make so much commotion at the Dalai Lama's palace since he would be disturbed in his meditation [Tib. thug dam sad rken]. When the people were saying such things, they were told, "Okay then, let's not act like this, but appoint your representatives from the various areas of Lhasa and send your representatives in. We will discuss with them according to your wish and then petition the Dalai Lama or the Chinese. Otherwise, making all of this commotion won't do." So they choose their representatives and they told the Kashag, "There is no way you can take the Dalai Lama to the military base," and that they were going to be the bodyguards of the Dalai Lama. Then I think it was Surkhang, Shasur and Liushar [Tib. sne'u shar] saying, "What they [the people] have said is all right since this is the people's request. However, we must talk with the Chinese," and so they went to the Chinese.

Q: When Sambo and all were stoned you were outside, and then later you went in?

A: Yes, I was [outside] and I saw it. I was allowed in. There were some monk and lay officials who were guarding the gates and they allowed those they knew to go in.

Q: Then you went in and then what happened?

A: Once I was in, the Shape told the representatives that the Dalai Lama had been informed, and he said it wouldn't do if they didn't talk with the Chinese. So they agreed [to let them go].

Q: What had the Dalai Lama told them [the Shapes]?

A: He must have said that we had to speak with the Chinese and that it was not alright to have such commotions here. So they should calm things. We didn't get to go there [with the inner circle who knew] and neither do I remember now. So they [Shape] told [them] that they had consulted the Dalai Lama, and that they were going to speak to the Chinese about subsiding the commotion, and that that day, the Dalai Lama would not be able to go. It seemed that a date was set, like the 1st. So it was not possible to go and after the commotion subsided, then he would come. It seems that this is why he sent the [Shape]. So whatever they said and what happened when they came down, I can't tell you in detail.

Q: You did not hear anything about what the Chinese said at the military camp?

A: What was said and all, I didn't hear much. When they went to talk to the Chinese, the people thought that the Dalai Lama might be in their cars, and so they even searched the cars. So they talked and returned. Maybe they said that if they could quell the uprising, then it was good. I remember something like this.

Q: Yes, so while the Kashag had gone to see the Chinese, where were you?

A: I was in Norbulinga. During the time that they were gone, what was happening in Norbulinga? After they returned, they probably announced to the people that they had guaranteed to calm the commotion, and so please don't create such turmoil. They may have said something like that. Then they said, "Whatever it is, we need to have a clean Assembly meeting [no pro-Chinese] and some work has to be done. There were Tibetans working in the Tibet Autonomous Region and some teachers too. So they said, "We want to differentiate the Tibetans to be Tibetans and the Chinese to be Chinese. So it should be clean." Even those who

went to the meetings, it was said that each rank, like the 4th rank, the 3rd rank, dzasa, and the 5th, monk and lay officials, letsenpa, should guarantee that they had all reliable persons. That these people should not be pro-Chinese and that the people [Tib. mimang] would check into this and make the final decision. So the people checked into this and the representatives were appointed.

Q: Which meeting? Where did it take place?

A: It took place in Norbulinga?

Q: I see, the one in the Shabden Lhagang? Were you in it?

A: Yes. Yes, I was in it. I was not at the first meeting. Later, when there was an abbreviated one, then what I have mentioned earlier, the meetings were based on that [no pro-Chinese]. The Tibetan government was not at all prepared to oppose the Chinese and to launch the revolt. Not at all. The Khamba revolt was something that resulted because the reforms were done too intensely and that they could not tolerate them. In addition to that, there were some Central Tibetan [Tib. Ütsang] people. That's how the Tensung Magar started. At Lhasa, one stayed with one's hopes in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The government had their armory, but that they always had. Other than that, there were no preparations for war to fight the Chinese. The people were people, that's it, with empty hands, and [they] had nothing to carry [unarmed]. The people went around the Barkor and peacefully demonstrated in front of the Chinese. Then within a day or so, the women alone peacefully demonstrated and said, "Tibet is Tibet and China is China, and we can't get along. The Chinese are destroying our religion and so they should go back to China." There was an abbreviated assembly meeting and some said that they were going to be in charge of the military salary. Others were appointed as Magji. In order to be bodyguards, one needed a lot of soldiers and they arranged for some people to look at the documents which showed that Tibet was completely independent. Yes. Our late Sawang Tsarong was there and I was also among those who were working on history. We worked for a while at Norbulinga and then the meeting moved to Shöl Parkhang saying that it would not be good to have this chaos in Norbulinga. Then the Chinese went into higher emergency level with bunkers set up on all of their houses that they had bought in Lhasa. On the main roads, soldiers were posted and were making movements most difficult. Where the Chinese were staying and where we were meeting at Shöl Parkhang, the places were located opposite each other. If one had binoculars, one could see very well. One could even see without binoculars where the people were going and what they were doing. So it was said that it was not good to stay there. So we moved to Kundeling since it was a little bit [more of a] remote place. Now the emergency level increased. We were discussing at the meetings and consulting the Kashag at the same time. The [individuals at the] meetings didn't make decisions on their own. Mainly, at Norbulinga, there wasn't much commotion since the people had [mostly] left. The Dalai Lama was in Norbulinga with the Tibetans guarding the gates. I was mainly staying at Norbulinga and those of us in the meetings were staying there. It had already reached the point that those who went to Lhasa could not return and those coming to Norbulinga could not return to Lhasa.

Q: Why was that?

A: The Chinese soldiers were stopping people going from both sides.

Q: I see. You were talking about a number of meetings, right? The first meeting took place at the Shabden Lhagang, right? Who was at it?

A: Oh, there were many people [Tib. mimang] [at] this meeting, which took place on the 1st.

Q: You were at this, right?

A: Yes.

A: Then who was there? Government officials?

A: Yes, all of the officials and many people [Tib. mimang].

Q: At this meeting members were not specifically selected, right?

A: No, they were not. It was said that we couldn't meet in this disorganized way, but must meet properly.

Q: At this meeting, were the kalön there?

A: No, they were not. The drungtsi were there. They traditionally were the ones to head the Assembly meetings. At this meeting there were monk and lay officials, and monastic officials from the three monasteries. Since there were so many people, one could hardly fit in the room.

Q: Who spoke at this meeting?

A: Oh, I don't remember now.

Q: So if someone had to speak, then the drungtsi would have to do that, right?

A: Yes, they had to take the lead and say, "We are here to discuss this and do things nicely," etc. Some speakers were militant [Tib. ngar po] and others said that we must have peace and tranquility [Tib. zhi lhung po] since there was danger to the Dalai Lama's life. Others said that it would just not do at all for the Dalai Lama to go to the Chinese theater.

Q: What were most of the government officials saying?

A: All kinds of things. Some were opposing the Chinese and said that Tibet is Tibet and China is China, and that's what we want.

Q: What were you thinking?

A: I was indeed among the ones who were opposing the Chinese, however, I wasn't able to talk much. Though I was supposed to be the Laja at that time, however, I was never articulate. Anyway, I said something like we must work together in a friendly manner and we should not reach a stage where there is a break between the Kashag and the others.

Q: Was what was said before the meeting adjourned was that we couldn't meet in this fashion and that we should meet in smaller groups? Is that it?

A: At first the meeting was kind of disorganized [Tib. rab be rob be], so everyone was shouting, right? The people's representatives said that the Dalai Lama couldn't go to the show. Besides that, this was severe oppression [Tib. btsan gnon chen po], so it was just not at all possible for us to get along with the Chinese. This is what was said. That Tibet is Tibet and China is China. So they were thinking about a total break [Tib. tha dad]. The people's representatives and the women's organization, when they demonstrated, had already said the same thing, right? So the meeting was saying the same thing. It was said that we should not meet in this disorganized fashion since there were pro-Chinese elements and also pro-Tibetan elements, and the idea was to "clean" it up. So it was decided that there should be various representatives from all sides. Besides officials, there were monastery representatives.

Q: Were the representative voted on? [Or did] people select their own?

A: Each selected their own. For example, from the 4 quarters of Lhasa [Tib. ru bzhi] the people selected their [own] representatives.

Q: After that, where did the meeting take place?

A: After that, the meetings took place in the Shabden Lhagang for a while. Then it was said that this was not appropriate.

Q: For how many days did they meet?

A: I don't know. For a day or two. Then it was said that the meeting taking place in Norbulinga and all this commotion was not good. That it also disturbed the Dalai Lama, and if the Chinese started shooting all of a sudden, then there was a danger to His Holiness. So they moved to Shöl Parkhang located below the Potala. It was like that.

Q: Were you at the Shöl Parkhang meeting?

A: Yes, yes. We just continued the work and it was discussed how we should talk to the Chinese. From our side there was nothing to do but [act] with a peaceful policy. We had to put [out] bodyguards for the Dalai Lama because the people insisted on that. They would not listen. One cannot know what may happen suddenly, right? So we were to talk with the Chinese, and we gave them the papers which showed how Tibet was completely independent. The tsondu was supposed to be talking to the Chinese directly, but the Chinese were not paying much attention.

Q: So from the tsondu, some persons were sent?

A: Yes, they did do that. Then the Dalai Lama [answer not finished]

Q: What I heard was that at one meeting, Dzasa Minkyiling [Tib. smon skyid gling] spoke and then my grandfather, Tsarong, spoke.

A: That was later. the Dalai Lama left on the night of the 8th, right? Then on the way, the Dalai Lama sent a [letter] saying, "Until now, while I was at Norbulinga, I had many talks [with the Chinese] through Ngabö. But so far, nothing decisive has been agreed on. So for the time being, I am going to Lhüntse Dzong, and from there the Kashag and I will talk with the Chinese continuously. So the meeting must continue, [and] you [must] work well. The heads of the meeting, Dzasa Minkyiling and Khenche Thubden Gyalpo [Tib. thub bstan rgyal po], and the representatives should do their best. We will send you letters in detail from Lhüntse Dzong." This is what the Dalai Lama said, and it seemed that there was a lot of discussion when he was in Norbulinga. When they read this letter, which it seems did not get there until the 9th, quite a few of the representatives were not there at the meeting. However, those who were there discussed it. It was supposed to have been kept secret [the letter] and we were not allowed to announced [it] to outsiders. Earlier when the Dalai Lama went to Yadong, some kudrak left on their own after the Dalai Lama. So this could not be done now and everyone had to stay. The late Sawang [Tsarong] was there and also Minkyiling. Tsarong said, "As someone who knows [about India], I thought that it may be useful for me to go and serve." But Minkyiling and others said, "Please don't go since we have been given a very large responsibility, and we need someone to seek advice. Please don't go." Most of the representatives said please stay, so that's how he got left behind. Is this what you meant?

Q: And at this meeting what was said? I heard Tsarong said that this was not the way to meet since everyone had to come together?

A: Oh, that I don't remember.

Q: Also, at this meeting there was talk that if you wanted to talk then talk, otherwise if you wanted to fight you'd have to get ready, right?.

A: This would naturally come about, right? The situation was such that we had to do something, right? But there was nothing for us to do. From the beginning we had nothing, right? So in one or two days, even if we did something, what could we do? We had to do something, right? But, we just went through the motions of doing something, but there was nothing to be done. So we tried to do our best. [On the other hand,] the Chinese were regularly prepared from early on. They had guns, and all that they were

thinking about was how to use power and bully others. Therefore, they also knew that they had enemies inside, outside and also in a secret manner. We did not have any of that. Since we did not make enemies, we never thought that we would have enemies.

Q: When the meeting began, you were staying at Norbulinga.

A: Yes.

Q: What did you have to do there? Stay as bodyguards or what?

A: After the Dalai Lama left there was nothing to do. Before that, I made rounds patrolling and stayed at the gates.

Q: Was the work divided for everyone?

A: Yes.

Q: What date did the Dalai Lama leave?

A: The 8th. Then on the 9th, as I mentioned, the meeting took place, and on the 10th morning, the Chinese started firing. On the 7th or 8th, from Kyangthang Naga [Tib. rkyang thanh na ga], there was some firing of guns on Norbulinga. It [the shells] did not fall on Norbulinga but close by. On the 10th [during the] early morning, they said that it was fired from down there, but anyway, the firing began. Then the revolt began.

Q: Where were you at that time? Did you not hear the firing of cannons?

A: That's why I'm telling you they fired cannons.

Q: Then after that what did you do?

A: On the 10th, the firing began, and then they really fired a lot of cannons. The walls of Norbulinga were destroyed. One monk official bodyguard, simgag, died near the wall. Another simgag was in the gaa, and he got hit somewhere here and died in the gaa (the Secretariat). Many died.

Q: Where were you at that time?

A: I was in Norbulinga.

Q: What were you doing?

A: I was going here and there, what else was there to do? .

Q: Here and there.

A: Nothing else to do.

Q: Did you have a gun on you?

A: Yes, I did. But the artillery was just raining down. The shells needed something hard to explode. Some would just land unexploded on soft ground and lawns.

Q: So you were there when the cannons were firing, right?

A: Yes, and the shells would go through the trees and bring down all the leaves. So we were going here and there, and some of the shrapnel was hitting our clothes. For us to challenge the Chinese, all we had were rifles. The Gusung Regiment was not around, nor were the Khamba soldiers. There were not that many kudrak left at the meeting. On the morning of the 10th, there was Taring Kungö, then our Dokar [Tib. mdo mkhar], Kungö Depön [Ragashag], then Porongka [Tib. pha bong kha] Chandzö and Manang Abo. They had their guns and [were] going hither and thither, and not many kudrak were around. Our Assembly members were there, but we were all dispersed and could not stay together. The Sitsab Lama was in the Kashag. .

Q: In the Kashag?

A: And there was nothing to do. Most probably, it was the 10th, and so Tseja Gyentsenla [Tib. rgyal mtshan lags] said that we had to do a senriy lottery in front of the deity Gombo as to whether we should stay or leave. The result was that we should stay, so we had to stay. And in the Dalai Lama's edict there was also something like that. I had sent my servant to Lhasa to get my food and he did not come at all, and so I was alone. Then I think it was the 9th evening or the 10th morning.

A: I went and I saw Tseja Gyentsenla and Temajog Lobsang Nyendra [Tib. bstan ma lcog blo bzang snyan grags] there. In Gyentsenla's hand was a yellow ladle with some water in it and [as I approached him], he said, "Gusho [Tib. sku gzdogs] [mister, polite term], don't come around. You should not come. Go away." The two of them seemed to be mentally disturbed [Tib. dzab bi dzub be] about something, saying that I should not come. Temajog did not say anything. So I did not stay and I left. I thought that since it was during the time of the battle, maybe we wouldn't agree with each other. So I left. Only later I heard that the two shot each other and died. That's how Temajog and Gyentsenla died. The reason being is that it seems that they were a little bit involved in the movements to oppose the Chinese. So it seems, poor fellows! They might have thought that if they were alive, they might have to drag many people [after arrest & questioning] [down with them]. That we had no soldiers, nothing to fight the Chinese [with]. If one had to run away, the time had already run out. So in this way, on the night of the 11th, the whole of Norbulinga was run over. Our wounded filled the Shabden Lhagang. The doctor, Amji Anan, was there using some scarves for the

wounded. We had no preparations for medical attention. So we stayed this way. We asked ourselves what the best thing was to do, and so Shügüpa, Shakabpa Rimshi and I were together. The three of us got out of the gates of Norbulinga and went via the park called Jaralinga [Tib. sbyar rag gling ga]. We rested for awhile and said, "What's the best [thing to do] now?" Shügüpa said something to the effect that maybe it was best to wear some women's clothes and flee. Shakabpa said that if we ran into the Indian Consulate then they could not touch us since that was the international law. We decided on that since it was close by. So we left. But the road was filled with Chinese soldiers, and we were arrested and put into prison. Maybe we should leave it at that.

Q: Yes, yes. Let me just take two minutes to ask you about Tseja Gyentsenla and Temajog. When you saw them, where were they?

A: The two of them were in the Tseja Legung itself. The office had a courtyard [Tib. 'khyam], they were in there. So the two of them killed each other.

Q: When did you hear that they killed each other?

A: Just after it was found that the two had killed each other.

Q: About how long?

A: The 9th evening or the 10th morning.